

SKETCH
OF
BISHOP ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD
BY
REV. G. B. WINTON, D. D.

1915

NOTE

Dr. Haygood was elected General Agent of the John F. Slater Fund at a meeting of the Trustees held on October 5, 1882, the year in which the Fund was established. He continued to serve in this capacity until he accepted the office of Bishop in 1890. At the fourteenth meeting of the Board held October 29, 1890, his resignation was accepted, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry was elected to fill the position. Dr. Haygood was not only a great preacher and a wise administrator, he was also a great and wise statesman. The Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund were most fortunate in being able to secure the services of such a man in the beginning of their important work.* It seems fitting that among the occasional papers published by the Board there should appear a sketch of Dr. Haygood's life, with brief extracts from his speeches and writings. As time goes on, his broad vision, his liberal spirit, his clear thought, his beneficent influence, will more and more be understood and realized.

JAMES H. DILLARD.

*At the time of Dr. Haygood's election the Board of Trustees consisted of the following members: R. B. Hayes, President; Morrison R. Waite, Vice-President; Daniel C. Gilman, Secretary; Morris K. Jesup, Treasurer; Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts; William E. Dodge and John A. Stewart, of New York; Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia; James P. Boyce, of Kentucky, and William A. Slater, of Connecticut.

A LIFE SKETCH OF BISHOP A. G. HAYGOOD*

Atticus Greene Haygood was born at Watkinsville, Georgia, November 19, 1839, and fell asleep at his home in Oxford, Georgia, January 19, 1896. Into the fifty-six years of his life he crowded work enough to have engaged a strong man for more than threescore and ten years. He might have lived longer if he had toiled less intensely. In the active and busy years of his life it was not uncommon for him to omit entirely to retire at night for sleep, working the night through, except for a brief rest on a couch or in a reclining chair.

His people were of Methodist stock, and at the age of fifteen he became a member of that church. Even in his youth were manifested the marked traits of generosity, will power, and devotion to the church which characterized him as a man. When it was proposed to erect a larger and more commodious house of worship for the congregation in Atlanta of which he was a member, he subscribed, though a mere boy, the sum of twenty-five dollars. He then hired himself to the contractor as a hod-carrier to pay the subscription. With reference to this it has been well said, "The young shoulders of the lad, which thus early bowed under the burdens of his church, were never thereafter free."

In 1856 he matriculated as a Sophomore in Emory College, at Oxford, Georgia, and was graduated with distinction in the Class of 1859. He was associated in college with a number of men who, with him, afterward became influential in the affairs of his church.

He was admitted into the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the autumn of the year he left college (1859), and at the age of twenty years. He at once took high rank in the conference, and from year to year had experience of work in circuits, stations, and districts. During the war he was for a time a chaplain in the Army of Virginia. In later years, at Chautauqua and elsewhere, he was often called upon for addresses to the veterans, alike of the North and of the South.

*Adapted from the *Journal* of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1898.

The Conference to which he belonged was divided, in 1866, into the North Georgia and the South Georgia conferences, his membership remaining in the North Georgia. That Conference made him one of its representatives in the General Conference of the church, which met in 1870. Though less than thirty-one years of age at the time, he had already impressed and widely influenced the church by his preaching and by contributions to the periodicals, especially on the subject of Sunday-schools and religious education. That General Conference created the office of Secretary of Sunday-schools and elected A. G. Haygood to it. To him, by this election, was committed the entire department of Sunday-school literature, and his editing of that literature marks an era in the history of Sunday-school work in his church. When he began his work there was a single periodical, *The Sunday-School Visitor*. There were no uniform lesson helps, no uniform lessons. When, after five years, he gave up his position, he had added two periodicals, *The Sunday-School Magazine* and *Our Little People*, and had greatly increased the circulation of *The Visitor*. During his editorship he laid out his own scheme of uniform lessons, and expounded those lessons in *The Magazine* in "Illustrative Readings," "Notes," and "Questions" with exceptional brilliance and power. The periodicals edited by him had a wide and growing circulation, and gave much satisfaction throughout the denomination.

During this same period he edited a number of excellent books and Sunday-school libraries. He selected, not merely colorless stories, but bright, strong biographies and histories adapted to the taste and capacity of young readers. In association with his friend, Professor R. M. McIntosh, he brought out several acceptable and widely used song books for the worship in the Sunday-school.

In the autumn of 1874 he was obliged, by the shattered health of Mrs. Haygood, to remove his family to Oxford, Georgia, the home of her girlhood. After continuing his editorial work from this point for nearly a year, he gave it up in September of 1875. The place of publication was Nashville, Tennessee, and the distance was too great for satisfactory work.

In December of that same year he was elected president of his *alma mater*, Emory College. In this position he served nine years, and his work as an educator and executive surpassed even his success as an editor. When he took charge of the institution its patronage was small, its insufficient buildings and grounds were encumbered with debt, and its endowment was less than \$15,000. When he laid down his work there the halls of the college were overflowing with students, the bulk of the debts were paid, its buildings had been increased by a central structure costing \$50,000, and its endowment had risen to \$100,000. And all this despite the fact that the years from 1875 to 1884 were trying years financially.

From 1878 to 1882, while president of Emory College, he edited the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*. Meantime he wrote two of his best-known books, "Our Children" and "Our Brother in Black." The positions taken in the latter seemed to some of his fellow-citizens in the South open to question and even to criticism, but he stood his ground stoutly. The book is now out of print, but it deserves to be commemorated as a pioneer influence in the developing of the modern attitude, now general in the South, with reference to the training and welfare of the Negro.

In the year 1882 the General Conference of his church, in session at Nashville, Tennessee, elected Dr. Haygood to the office of bishop. He felt himself impelled to decline the position, and on the following day, May 17, gave to the Conference his reasons in characteristically frank and simple words. He wrote: "I am deeply moved by your action of yesterday in electing me a bishop of our beloved church. Though I might fear the responsibilities of the office, I do not shrink from the labors. Yet with a clear conviction and a deep sense of my duty, I respectfully decline to accept the position to which you have called me. I can not with a good conscience lay down the work which I now have in hand." He felt bound to the college until difficulties affecting its best success, if not its very existence, were removed. He did not quit its service until the results upon which he had set his heart were accomplished.

In the same year, 1882, by the munificence of Mr. John F. Slater, of Norwich, Connecticut, the fund now known as "The John F. Slater Fund" was created. The agency of that great interest was offered to Dr. Haygood. At first he declined it, and suggested the name of another minister of his church for the place. At the instance of Mr. Slater, the Trustees of the Fund continued, however, to urge him to accept. Friends in whom he had confidence joined in the appeal, and he finally agreed to take the agency.

The General Conference of his church, which met at St. Louis in the year 1890, again called him to the office of bishop. This time he decided to accept ordination, and entered upon the responsibilities and labors of the position. As soon as proper arrangements could be made he resigned the agency of the Slater Fund, and for the rest of his life gave his undivided attention to the service of his church. That service, as one of its chief pastors, lasted less than six years, for at what for many is the mere meridian of life he laid down his pen and his voice was hushed.

During the years of his Episcopal service, as for a long time previously, Bishop Haygood was much in demand for public addresses. He lived for a time at Los Angeles, California. He had traveled widely during the years of his work for the Slater Fund. His ability as a speaker thus became generally known. In the North he was recognized as a man of broad sympathies, and on more than one platform coöperated with his distinguished fellow-Georgian, the Hon. Henry W. Grady, in healing the breach between North and South. His advocacy of the welfare of the Negro made him many friends in the North, and he was given wide opportunity for this advocacy, both with voice and pen.

During his later years, as had indeed long been his custom, he continued to "toil terribly." His pen never rested, and he did not spare himself in travel, in speaking, and study. Several additional volumes from his pen appeared, most of them made up of addresses which he had delivered or of studies in which he had engaged as teacher and preacher. The principal of these, in addition to those already mentioned, are "Sermons and Addresses," "Pleas for Progress," "The Man

of Galilee," "Jack-Knife and Brambles," "The Monk and the Prince." Of these, doubtless the ablest is "The Man of Galilee," though his collected addresses exhibit single discourses which are the equal of any of his work elsewhere. Many of them are extemporaneous utterances taken in shorthand and only slightly revised, but even these show that lucidity of thought, that simplicity of utterance and breadth of sympathy which marked his best work.

Herewith are given a few extracts, that the readers of this sketch may test for themselves the charm and the power of one of the South's great leaders.

I

THANKSGIVING IN 1880

(From a Sermon before the Faculty and Students of
Emory College)

"And first, we of the South have great reason to be thankful to God that we are in all respects so well off, and that, too, so soon after so great a war, so complete an upturning of our institutions, so entire an overthrow of our industries, so absolute a defeat of our most cherished plans. Recall briefly the last twenty years. Think of what we were in 1860 and in 1865; then look about you and see what we are in 1880. What was thought by our people after Appomattox and April, 1865, as to the prospect before us? Some of you can recall the forebodings of that time as to the return of business prosperity, the restoration and preservation of civil and social order among ourselves, and the restoration of our relations to the Union.

"You know how many of our best and bravest left our section forever in sheer despair. Behold now what wonders have been wrought in fifteen years!

"Firstly, considering where and what we were fifteen years ago, considering the financial convulsions and panics that have swept over our country during that time—I might say, that have disturbed the civilized world—our industrial and financial condition to-day is marvelously good. It is not true, as certain croakers and 'Bourbons,' floated from their moorings by the rising tides of new and better ideas, are so fond of saying, that the South is getting poorer every day. These croakings are not only unseemly, they are false in their statements as they are ungrateful in their sentiment. A right study of our tax returns will show that there is life and progress in the South. But statistical tables are not the only witnesses in such a case. Let people use their own eyes. Here is this one fact—the cotton crop, as an exponent of the power of our industrial system. In 1879 we made nearly five million bales; in 1880 it is believed that we will make nearly six million bales. We never made so much under the old system. It is nonsense to talk of a country as ruined that can do such things. There are

more people at work in the South to-day than were ever at work before, and they are raising not only more cotton but more of everything else. And no wonder, for the farming of to-day is better than the farming of the old days, and in two grand particulars: First, better culture; second, the ever-increasing tendency to break up the great plantations into small farms. Our present system is more than restoring what the old system destroyed.

"The great body of our people not only make more than they did before the war but they make a better use of it—they get unspeakably more comfort out of it. I am willing to make the comparison on any line of things that you may suggest, for I know both periods. Remember that I am speaking of the great mass of the people, and not of the few great slaveholders, some of whom lived like princes; not forgetting, meantime, that the majority of our people never owned slaves at all.

"For one illustration take, if you please, the home life of our people. There is ten times the comfort there was twenty years ago. Travel through your own country—and it is rather below than above the average—by any public or private road. Compare the old and the new houses. The houses built recently are better every way than those built before the war. I do not speak of an occasional mansion that in the old times lifted itself proudly among a score of cabins, but of the thousands of decent farmhouses and comely cottages that have been built in the last ten years. I know scores whose new barns are better than their old residences. Our people have better furniture. Good mattresses have largely driven out the old-time feathers. Cook stoves, sewing-machines, with all such comforts and conveniences, may be seen in a dozen homes to-day where you could hardly have found them in one in 1860. Lamps that make reading agreeable have driven out tallow-dips, by whose glimmering no eyes could long read and continue to see. Better taste asserts itself; the new houses are painted; they have not only glass, but blinds. There is more comfort inside. There are luxuries where once there were not conveniences. Carpets are getting to be common among the middle classes. There are parlor organs, pianos, and pictures where we never saw them before. And so on, to the end of a long chapter.

"Test the question of our better condition by the receipts of benevolent institutions, the support of the ministry, the build-

ing, improvement, and furnishing of churches, and we have the same answer—our people are better off now than in 1860.

“In reply to all this some one will say, ‘But it costs more to live than in 1860.’ I answer, ‘True enough; but there is more to live for.’

“Secondly, the social and civil order existing in the Southern States is itself wonderful, and an occasion of profound gratitude. For any wrongs that have been done in our section, for any acts of violence on any pretext, for any disobedience to law, I have not one word of defense. Admitting, for argument’s sake, all that the bitterest of our censors have ever said upon these subjects, I still say, considering what were the conditions of life in the Southern States after April, 1865, the civil and social order that exists in the South is wonderful. Our critics and censors forget, we must believe, the history of other countries. They have never comprehended the problem we had given us to work out after the surrender. Only those who lived through that period can ever understand it. Why has not this whole Southern country repeated the scenes of Hayti and San Domingo? Not the repressive power of a strong government only; not the fear of the stronger race only; not that suggestions have been lacking from fierce and narrow fanatics; but chiefly in this, the conservative power of the Protestant religion, which had taken such deep root in the hearts and lives of our people. The controlling sentiment of the Southern people, in city and hamlet, in camp and field, among the white and the black, has been religious.

“Thirdly, the restoration of our relations to the General Government should excite our gratitude. Possibly some do not go with me here. Then I must go without them; but I shall not lack company, and, as the years pass, it will be an ever-increasing throng. We must distinguish between a party we have for the most part antagonized and the government it has so long a time controlled. Whatever may be the faults of the party in power, or of the party out of power, this is, nevertheless, so far as I know, altogether the most satisfactory and desirable government in the world, and I am thankful to God, the disposer of the affairs of nations and of men, that our States are again in relations with the General Government.

“Should we be surprised or discouraged because our section does not control the government? History, if not reason, should teach us better. Is there a parallel to our history since

1860—war, bitter, continued, and destructive; defeat, utter and overwhelming, and all followed so soon by so great political influence and consideration as we now enjoy? When did a defeated and conquered minority ever before, in the short space of fifteen years, regain such power and influence in any age or nation? And this is the more wonderful when we consider the immeasurable capacity for blundering which the leaders of the dominant party in our section have manifested during these years of political conflict. And it is the more wonderful still when we consider how ready the dominant part of the other section has been to receive, as the expression of the fixed though secret sentiment of the mass of the Southern people, the wild utterances of a few extreme impracticables, who have never forgotten and have never learned. I tell you to-day, the sober-minded people who had read history did not, in 1865, expect that our relations with the General Government would be, by 1880, as good as they are. But they would have been better than they are if the real sentiment of the masses on both sides could have gotten itself fairly expressed; for these masses wish to be friends, and before very long they will sweep from their way those who seek to hinder them. My congregation, looked at on all sides and measured by any tests, it is one of the wonders of history that our people have, in so short a time (fifteen years is a very short time in the lifetime of a nation), so far overcome the evil effects of one of the most bloody and desolating and exasperating wars ever waged in this world! And the facts speak worlds for our Constitution, for our form of government, and, above all, for our Protestant religion—a religion which will yet show itself to be the best healer of national wounds, and the best reconciler of estranged brethren.

“Fourthly, there is one great historic fact which should, in my sober judgment, above all things, excite everywhere in the South profound gratitude to Almighty God: I mean the abolition of African slavery.

“If I speak only for myself (and I am persuaded that I do not), then be it so; but I, for one, thank God that there is no longer slavery in these United States! I am persuaded that I only say what the vast majority of our people feel and believe. I do not forget the better characteristics of African slavery as it existed among us for so long a time under the sanction of national law and under the protection of the Con-

stitution of the United States; I do not forget that its worst features were often cruelly exaggerated, and that its best were unfairly minified; more than all, I do not forget that, in the providence of God, a work that is without a parallel in history was done on the Southern plantations—a work that was begun by such men as Bishop Capers, of South Carolina, Lovick Pierce and Bishop Andrew, of Georgia, and by men like-minded with them—a work whose expenses were met by the slaveholders themselves—a work that resulted in the Christianizing of a full half million of the African people, who became communicants of our churches, and in the bettering of nearly the whole four or five million who were brought largely under the redeeming influence of our holy religion.

“I have nothing to say at this time of the particular ‘war measure’ that brought about their immediate and unconditioned enfranchisement, only that it is history, and that it is done for once and for all. I am not called on, in order to justify my position, to approve the political unwisdom of suddenly placing the ballot in the hands of nearly a million of unqualified men—only that, since it is done, this also is history that we of the South should accept, and that our fellow-citizens of the North should never disturb. But all these things, bad as they may have been, and unfortunate as they may yet be, are only incidental to the one great historic fact that slavery exists no more. For this fact I devoutly thank God this day! And on many accounts:

“1. For the Negroes themselves. While they have suffered and will suffer many things in their struggle for existence, I do, nevertheless, believe that in the long run it is best for them. How soon they shall realize the possibilities of their new relations depends largely, perhaps most, on themselves. Much depends on those who, under God, set them free. By every token this whole nation should undertake the problem of their education. That problem will have to be worked out on the basis of coöperation; that is, they must be helped to help themselves. To make their education an absolute gratuity will perpetuate many of the misconceptions and weaknesses of character which now embarrass and hinder their progress. Much, also, depends upon the Southern white people—their sympathy, their justice, their wise and helpful coöperation. This we should give them, not reluctantly, but gladly, for their good and for the safety of all, for their elevation, and for the glory

of God. How we may do this may be matter for discussion hereafter.

"2. I am grateful that slavery no longer exists, because it is better for the white people of the South. It is better for our industries and our business, as proved by the crops that free labor makes. But by eminence it is better for our social and ethical development. We will now begin to take our right place among both the conservative and aggressive forces of the civilized and Christian world.

"3. I am grateful because it is unspeakably better for our children and children's children. It is better for them in a thousand ways. I have not time for discussion in detail now. But this, if nothing else, proves the truth of my position: there are more white children at work in the South to-day than ever before. And this goes far to account for the six million bales of cotton. Our children are growing up to believe that idleness is vagabondage. One other thing I wish to say before leaving this point. We hear much about the disadvantages to our children of leaving them among several million of freedmen. I recognize them and feel them; but I would rather leave my children among several million of free Negroes than among several million of Negroes in slavery.

"But, leaving out of view at this time all discussion of the various benefits that may come through the enfranchisement of the Negroes, I am thankful on the broad and unqualified ground that there is now no slavery in all our land.

"Does any one say to me this day: 'You have got new light; you have changed the opinions you entertained twenty years ago'? I answer humbly, but gratefully, and without qualification: 'I have got new light. I do now believe many things that I did not believe twenty years ago. Moreover, if it please God to spare me in this world twenty years longer, I hope to have, on many difficult problems, more new light. I expect, if I see the dawn of the year 1900, to believe some things that I now reject, and to reject some things that I now believe. And I will not be alone.' " (Sermons and Speeches, p. 110 fol.)

II

NEGRO TRAITS

"It may be questioned whether the laboring classes of any country are so certain of employment as are the Negroes of the South who really wish to work. They are beginning to appear upon the tax books as landowners. Thus, in Georgia, according to the report of the Comptroller-General for 1880 (and I take Georgia only because the figures were accessible to me and I do not wish to guess), they own, of 'improved lands,' 586,664 acres—a showing most creditable to them. And of these Negro landowners this may be said with certainty: they are more satisfactory as neighbors and citizens than are those who do not own land. A little land does more to elevate him as a citizen than even the wonder-working ballot itself. They live, most of them, in small and uncomfortable cabins. But this gives them less trouble than Northern people may suppose. They have had a good training in order to contentment with small things; the climate favors them; most of them have enough to eat, and in winter fuel enough to keep them warm. They will spend their last dime for food or fuel, and, if it comes to the pinch, will get it elsewhere. (Some white men, I have observed, employ similar methods.) The Negro is constitutionally and habitually a meat-eater; it may be well questioned whether the common laborer of any country has as much meat to eat as the Southern Negro. A fence rarely survives a severe winter if it be close to a Negro settlement in a town or village where wood is scarce. The average Negro will burn his own fence without compunction or hesitation. I have a Negro neighbor who has burned his own fence and part of mine four winters in succession. Next spring he and I will make a new fence."

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"Few of them are skilled workmen—the best mechanics among them learned their trades when they were slaves. Free Southern Negroes and Southern white boys are alike in one thing at least—they are impatient of apprenticeship. This is one reason why the South is so far behind in the mechanic arts.

“As a class they are not systematic in their plans and labors; few of them know how to lay by for a ‘rainy day.’ When they were slaves they had no motive for economy; when old or worn out their masters provided for them as no great corporation provides for its disabled servants. The exceptions to this statement were few—the master who did not provide for his sick or disabled Negroes lost caste. Their lack of foresight and economy may be well explained by their antecedents, some of them antedating their coming to America.”

“As a class they are obliging, good-tempered, and unvengeful. Their disposition to help one another is wonderful. They have many relief societies that help in sickness or other distress. Their treasurers are held to strict accountability. Few bank directors watch cashiers so closely. But some Negroes are as dishonest and mean as any white man, and now and then one ‘absorbs’ the funds of the society. But they do not say, ‘He has been unfortunate; has overdrawn; that he is a defaulter.’ They express themselves plainly; they say, ‘That Nigger is a thief.’ And they are right. (Whenever a Negro wishes to express his contempt or to jeer at one of his fellows he pronounces the word as if spelled with two ‘g’s.’)”

“I should do wrong not to say a few words about the religious characteristics of the Negroes in the South. No matter what one may believe on the subject of religion in general, or of their religion in particular, no man who would understand them and their relations to the problem of our national life can afford to overlook their religious character. Their notions may be crude, their conceptions of truth sometimes grotesque and realistic to a painful degree, their religious development may show many imperfections—nevertheless, their most striking, important, and formative characteristic is their religion. The Negro’s church is the center, not only of his religious, but of his social life. Their religion is real to them. They believe the Bible—every line and every word of it. To them God is a reality. So are heaven, hell, and the judgment day.

“The religion of the Southern Negro, slave or free, was and is a divine reality. During the late war it was pure and

strong enough to secure peace and safety to women and children on the plantations while the men were away fighting under a flag which did not promise freedom to them. For this the just and good hold them in everlasting and grateful remembrance. And we may be quite sure that they understood what the war meant in its relations to them.

“They may not have outgrown their superstitions, but the school-house and the Bible will do for them what they have done for all people—drive out the evil and cruel spirits of superstition.” (Sermons and Speeches, *passim*.)

III

EDUCATION

“If I had my way, and could command the means to make the end possible in our schools, there should be no diplomas that did not certify to ability to do some work properly, as well as to read some Greek passably—ability to earn, by handwork of some sort, a living, as well as to solve some sort of problem with difficulty. There are some old foggy teachers who will have no work-teaching in their schools. Some ridicule such teaching, affirming in their ignorance that work-teaching and book-teaching can not go on together, whereas they do go on together. There are some conductors of schools for Negro youth who go to the length of this absurdity. They do not seem to understand that the greater the educational needs of any people the greater their need of not only being taught books but of being taught to make a living, and, if they are to rise in the scale permanently, to make more than a living. Very wisely has the Board of Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund resolved to ‘prefer’ those schools that couple ‘industrial training’ with head and heart training.”

“My advice is: Do in this college the sort of work that the people who send to it most need, not what somebody else who does not send to it needs. Let the college shape its plans by the real wants of its people, not by the supposed wants of some other people. It will take good sense and courage to do this, more than the managers of most white colleges have. The temptation will be to try to do just what ought not to be done. If you resist the temptation you will deserve honor for your good sense and courage. Suppose this college should try to pattern after Yale or Harvard or Princeton. It will fail, and it ought to fail, for it will be trying to do to-day what may be well enough a hundred years from to-day. Yale and Harvard are more than one hundred years old, and their patrons have been sending sons and daughters to college for a hundred years. I have known schools try to

teach boys and girls Greek and Latin that failed to teach them English, that failed to teach them how to keep accounts, that failed to teach them how to make a living and to be good people. Such a school needs teaching—common sense and honesty.” (Pleas for Progress, p. 183.)

“In seeking to better the religious life of our colored brethren we will gratefully employ all the instrumentalities that God gives us to use. Schools, more and better, will help; all the opportunities that come with freedom will help. But if their church life be weak or corrupt, all will be in vain. Accepting, for argument’s sake, any notion that may be advanced as to the real character of the church life of the colored people in this country—the notion of fanatics who think it well-nigh perfect, the notion of other fanatics who see no good in it—this remains indisputably true: In any nation, Christian or heathen, its religion is its controlling force.

“As to my own opinion—with as good opportunities as most men to know what the religious life of the colored people really is—I say unhesitatingly that his religion is his strongest and best characteristic. All there is of hope for him in this country will rise or fall with the healthy development or the decay of his religion. Without true religion pure home life is as impossible to the Negro as it is to the white man; without pure home life Christian civilization is inconceivable.” (Pleas for Progress, pp. 126, 155, 183.)

IV

EXTRACTS FROM "OUR BROTHER IN BLACK"

"So far as man can see or devise, these Negroes are in the South to stay. Common sense, in considering this problem, can not assume a supernatural intervention to
In the South move them elsewhere. Left to the natural con-
to Stay. ditions that enter into such questions, there is no reason to expect that these Americanized Africans will remove or be removed from the regions where we now find the great mass of them. If such a not-to-be-expected migration should occur, still leaving them within the United States, the problems that grow out of their presence in this country must be worked out all the same. Change of place can no more eliminate this factor in our national equation than it can change the past history of these people in the United States.

"There is much reason to believe that the problem can be better solved without a change of locality. The South is the best place for these emancipated Negroes, and the people of the South will yet prove themselves to be, of all people in the world, the fittest to deal with this very difficult and delicate race problem. What we want is not a change of blackboards, but a thorough study and an understanding of the problem itself; also the right spirit all round.

"This, I think, may be settled down upon: these Negroes, ever increasing, will, for the most part, stay right where they are, in the South. But if they should be, as is most unlikely, diffused with something like equality of distribution throughout the United States, the problem would be diffused, that is all, and with much increment of confusion and difficulty.

"It seems very clear—this race problem is likely to be our problem as a nation always. It is certainly, at this time, a problem that the whole people should, and that the Southern people must, seriously but calmly consider." (p. 17.)

"I will not entangle my argument with the question of the relative capacity of the white and black races, nor will I speculate about the African's capacity for high culture.' My argument has nothing to do with these questions; let the schools and colleges make out of him the utmost that it is in him to make. Then let the world measure him by what he does. If any fear that he will, when at his fullest growth, be too great a man, let *them* grow, or organize an 'exodus,' and find a place where they will be free from his overshadowing greatness. My argument concerns his education in the three 'R's.' If anything in the world is settled, it is settled that the Negro can learn to read, to write, and to 'cipher.' And he learns well and rapidly. I want no proof beyond what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears. He can learn a good deal more, but these parts of knowledge he must learn for his safety and ours. These are the keys; give them to him and let him unlock all the doors of wisdom he can. This is fair; it is wise; it is necessary; it is right." (p. 133.)

"The colored schools should have the support, countenance (there is much in the word countenance), indorsement, and coöperation of Southern white people. Reasonable and good people must feel kindly toward schools for Negroes; if they do not, they are ignorant. To do its best work in a community a colored school needs more than money-help and the mere toleration that allows it to exist—it needs moral and social support. How this is to be afforded must be determined by sensible people on the merits of each case.

How Whites Can Help.

"Some things I may mention as illustrations of many methods of encouragement and help. The school may be visited by proper persons at reasonable hours. The pastor of the white church close by could do good in this way. Some of them do; all of us might and ought. Official people might encourage the school by an occasional visit, as the mayor, the village squire, the teacher of the white school, and other persons of influence and local consideration. The teacher should be treated kindly and respectfully, and made to understand that he has the favor and support of all good people. Any outrage by 'lewd fellows of the baser sort' should be taken in

hand and punished promptly, certainly, and with such severity as the law provides and the case demands." (p. 146.)

"The Negro is a neighbor. Perhaps there is little or no intercourse between the cabin and the mansion, or between the cabin and the cottage, or even between two cabins, a white family in one and a colored family in the other. I do think there is more intercourse between 'mansion' and 'cabin' in the South than between 'brown-stone front' and 'garret' in the great cities. But the Negro is a neighbor all the same, and, by his very existence and presence, a power for good or evil. If we leave the higher considerations of duty, and find the lowest place for our argument—the self-interest, the mere convenience and comfort of the dominant race—it is important that this Negro, this humblest member of the community, be a good man, a man of right views, sentiment, habits, and associations. It is important to both races that their relations be not only friendly but mutually helpful and affectionate. If this Negro be a bad man, with false views, corrupt sentiments, vicious habits, and evil associations, he is a constant menace to peace and good order. Neither more nor less a menace on account of color, but a menace on account of his character.

"'But,' says the irrepressible one, be he Northern or Southern, 'how about the social question?' This question indicates a sort of hysteria. But if you must be answered, it is easy: Daniel Martin never asks anything of me as to social life that I am not willing to give. I respect him in his place; he respects me in my place. He is master in his house (except when his wife gets the upperhand); I am master in mine (all exceptions understood). No test that brought embarrassment to me or mortification to him ever occurred, or ever will. Wise people never make these issues; they do not come up spontaneously—not once in a thousand times.

"There never was a subject so much discussed that has so little in it, except, it may be, the invention of perpetual motion. It gives no trouble to either race when let alone. People of good sense, good breeding, and of unmeddlesome temper do let it alone." (pp. 183-188.)

"Some of the benefits that would accrue to the whole people, to the state, if a large number of negro families should become the owners of their own farms, I suggest. There are others of importance that will suggest themselves to the reader—some, no doubt, that have not occurred to me.

"Owning land tends to foster the virtues that make a people happy, strong, and prosperous. It encourages industry and promotes economy. It furnishes the right soil for all those affections and sentiments that are the life and soul of *homes*. The one-year tenant has the poorest chance to make a home; the long-lease tenant is in far better case; the landowner, although of only a very small 'parcel of ground,' is in the best case of all. The best homes grow out of ownership of the soil.

.....

"Owning land will, in most respects, at least, have the same effect upon the Negro that it has upon the white man. It will create in him so deep a personal and family interest in honest and capable government as greatly to raise his character as a voter. A man who owns a farm, be it ever so small, is not so apt to sell his vote for a dollar or a dram as is the man who owns nothing but his muscle. Such a voter begins to consider the character of the man he votes for. Bad legislature will, he sees, come back to his farm. There can be no doubt that owning a little property, especially landed property, greatly sharpens a voter's wits, in town or country, in choosing rulers. In this one instance, at least, self-interest serves to clarify the judgment and to support the conscience. What is equally important, the man who feels that the acre he works is his own is more independent in his choice and action. We may be very sure that one hundred Negroes owning little farms, and one hundred owning nothing are very different forces in society and government. It is just as true of white men. . . .

"The South needs a large number of Negro farmers, settled on their own farms, for a reason that will some day become exigent; we need them as a grand self-sustaining and efficient moral and social police against the idle and vicious of their own race. The landowning Negro is the sworn foe of 'tramps.' The antagonism is as natural as that between

shepherds and 'sheep-killing dogs.' It is a very rare thing that a desperado belongs to a family settled on its own land. . . .

"There is, I believe, no condition so favorable to the development of patriotic feeling among a people with the antecedents and surroundings of Southern Negroes as the ownership of land. In every nation patriotism is rooted in the soil and nourished by it." (pp. 212-218.)

"The hope of the African race in this country is largely in its pulpit. The schoolhouse and the newspaper have not substituted the pulpit, as a throne of **The Negro Preacher.** spiritual power, in any Christian nation. I do not believe they ever will. But for this race the pulpit is preëminently the teacher. Here they must receive their best counsels and their divinest inspiration. I say *its* pulpit. I mean this: White preachers have done much and ought to have done more; they can now do much and ought to do a hundredfold more than they do; but the great work must be done by preachers of the Negro race. Tongues and ears were made for each other; in each race both its tongues and its ears have characteristics of their own. No other tongue can speak to a Negro's ear like a Negro's tongue. All races are so; some missionaries have found this out. In every mission field the 'native ministry' does a work that no other can do.

"How urgent the need and how sacred the duty of preparing those of this race whom God calls to preach to their people! Heaven bless the men and women who have given money and personal service for their education! Heaven bless their 'schools of the prophets'! May they ever be under the wisest guidance and the holiest influences!

"Mistakes were inevitable; some unwholesome influences have, in some cases, marred the good work. This should not surprise us. But, after all, never was money better spent than in founding training-schools for a native African ministry. Would God that some Southern men and women counted themselves worthy to take part in this ministry of consecrated gold and holy teaching!" (p. 223.)

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